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amendments, April, 1915. (New York: Peck & Durham. 1915. Pp. 28. 25c.)

Workmen's compensation law of the state of Minnesota, May, 1915; Pennsylvania; Rhode Island, July, 1915; West Virginia, April, 1915. (New York: George I. Wilson & Sons. 1915. Pp. 32, each. 25c. each.)

Pauperism and Charities

NEW BOOKS

DEVINE, E. T. *Organized charity and industry. A chapter from the history of the Charity Organization Society of the City of New York.* (New York: N. Y. School of Philanthropy. 1915. Pp. 16.)

NASSAU, M. L. *Old age poverty in Greenwich Village; a neighborhood study.* (New York: Revell. 1915. Pp. 105. 60c.)

Constructive social measures. A review of two years' work. (New York: Assoc. for Improving Condition of Poor. 1915. Pp. 27.)

Socialism and Co-operative Enterprises

The Socialists and the War. A Documentary Statement of the Position of the Socialists of All Countries with Special Reference to their Peace Policy. By WILLIAM ENGLISH WALLING. (New York: Henry Holt and Company. 1915. Pp. xii, 512.)

Mr. Walling has given us a most admirable piece of editing. With much skill he has arranged the documentary evidence and commented upon it with restraint and discrimination. We are first shown the general position of the socialists on the war, with their attitude toward the vital issues—nationalism, militarism, and imperialism. This includes methods of preventing war, the general strike, and refusal to vote money for military purposes.

Part II gives us an account of the Balkan wars and the revolutionary protests in Russia and Italy.

Part III brings us to the outbreak of the conflict in which socialist parties define their positions.

Part IV shows opinion and action after the war is on, and Part V, the efforts toward peace, with a final chapter on the relation of the war to further socialistic measures.

Nothing reported from Europe since the author's work was finished changes in any essential the impression which his study leaves upon us. That French socialists should snub those English comrades who would gather at The Hague to talk of peace, is also what we find among the most influential of English socialists,

now almost bitterly hostile toward the I. L. P. because of its lack of old-fashioned patriotism.

A recent issue of the socialist *New Statesman*, from which Mr. Walling repeatedly quotes as high authority, shows rather ruthlessly how the rough exigencies of war are hardening opinion within the movement and creating antagonisms that can not fail to leave scars when the war is at an end.

English socialists must be Englishmen first and socialists afterwards, it says in sharp rebuke of the Independent Labor Party. Then, with greater severity, it adds:

What, as it seems to us, they have overlooked is that nationalism must come before internationalism. We are speaking not of theories but of facts. Before individuals in one nation can make substantial overtures of friendship to the people of another nation they must earn the right to speak in the name of at least a considerable section of their own countrymen. But for whom can the I. L. P. speak? For no one outside its own strictly limited membership. It does not now represent even the British socialist movement, still less any appreciable section of the British working class. It has lost authority and respect not only at home, but amongst its friends abroad. Its internationalism has been tried in the fire and found wanting—found, that is to say, to be merely a vague anti-nationalism. . . . Who will listen to it, even in the International Socialist Congress? The British Labour Party, having borne its share of the burden and heat of the day, will have earned its right to be heard, but the I. L. P., having preferred to lift the hem of its garment lest it should be soiled by nationalist sentiment, will have ceased to count. It has flown the banner of a theoretical internationalism, but it has written across it "Futility."

That large numbers of protesting socialists in the Reichstag should now make themselves heard, also confirms Mr. Walling's contention that the struggle to stand out against war was both more earnest and more sustained than has been believed.

It seems to have been expected by the general public that socialists would stand out as lonely exceptions at a time when churchmen, men of letters, artists, and especially the men of science, were dropping international pretensions of every sort. That Guesde, or Südekum, or Victor Adler should take the nationalist quickstep, is as little strange as that great scholars and philosophers should do the same. In no section of society was the protest more earnest or more honest than among socialists.

These documents, upon the whole, add to one's respect for the integrity and ability of the socialist body. They bring out the poignant difficulties under which the various groups struggle to

keep their international faiths and yet meet the nearer demand of one's country in peril. Everywhere prevailing majorities show no doubt that, on their part, it was a war of defence.

The first distinct sign from German parties that it is to be turned into a war of conquest, has brought a socialist challenge so formidable, and from such increasing numbers, as to promise a most lively contest in German political life. It is nearly five months since the President of the Upper Chamber openly spoke out for annexation. Since then the militarist contingent has more and more shown its hand. Older socialists have not forgotten a very extraordinary provision of Marx. The dead were hardly cleared from the trap in Sedan, forty-five years ago, when Marx wrote that the annexing of Alsace-Lorraine would lead straight to a French and Russian alliance and then to war. There are no more powerful sections of influence in Germany than those agricultural and industrial groups which are now crying out for the retention of Belgium and a most important part of France. As in the French Revolution, so now the unsigned pamphlet appears against this party of conquest before it was safe to protest in a socialist journal. This stage is now past and, if we may believe reports, it is so near a crisis that most influential pro-war socialists hotly demand the exclusion from the party of many most honored names. Who would have believed that Kautsky would be among these?

In nothing is Mr. Walling's book more valuable than in its disclosure of those inexorable differences in opinion which a shattering event like this war was certain to bring about. Under the shock socialists behave monotonously like other folk. In Italy the *Avanti* is at war with the reformist branch. In South Africa the anti-war section sends out a manifesto which kicks as vigorously as the English "Union for Democratic Control." It is no secret that in France, where the immense tragedy has silenced faction as in no country except Germany, in the early stages, there is among socialists who are not at the front a seething discontent which threatens the unity of the party. Everywhere they are as sorely at odds over the more immediate determination of policies. They seize as readily upon all manner of excuses for actions that belie party professions. They break into factions which seem to have no foot of ground in common.

What is it that now unites Rosa Luxemburg and Dr. Liebknecht to leaders like Schiedemann and David? To Dr. Südekum,

Liebknecht is as much a traitor as is any Junker in the land. What havoc the veteran Hyndman makes with his comrades who think the war is explained by "capitalism." So ex-congressman Berger talks of socialist "nonsense" written about the war, as by those who "make their task easy" by simply blaming capitalism—which is "only one cause and a minor one at that." This is very different from Debs, who has it: "The profit system is responsible for it all."

Almost more important is Victor Adler's contention that labor's international interests are not common and united against those of capital.

As with many another too easy philosophy, this world war will compel a revaluation and a restatement of almost every "fundamental" in the socialist ritual. It will force much sharper distinctions and more rigorous tests in the most familiar and accepted terminology. Collectivism, socialism, syndicalism, are words that must give a more satisfactory account of themselves. As this is written, an article reaches me in an English socialist journal on "The New Syndicalism." So soon does this most recent variation require an altered emphasis!

As with secret diplomacies and their favorite formulas; as with theories of nationality, state, and sovereignty; as with the whole batch of liberal and optimistic politics, not one of the revolutionary *isms* will escape the severities of a discipline so searching that the socialist ideals, as a whole, will doubtless emerge a much more intelligible and formidable factor in social reconstruction.

JOHN GRAHAM BROOKS.

Cambridge, Mass.

Reflections on Violence. By GEORGES SOREL. Authorized translation by T. E. HULME. (New York: B. F. Huebsch. 1912. Pp. x, 299. \$2.25.)

It is doubtful if any book can be named that is better calculated to state the spirit and method of revolution than this special volume by Georges Sorel. The introduction alone will convince any reader that this study is not to be skipped by one who would know the most penetrating observations upon the various anarchisms of the hour.

It is frequently repeated, "Sorel has dropped his syndicalism and become a tory." In the brief note prefixed to this volume, he warns us that so far as concerns his philosophy of violence he is "more than ever convinced of its value." In the appendix he adds: